



I.
A N
HONEST MAN'S REASONS
F O R
Declining to take any P A R T
I N T H E
NEW ADMINISTRATION,
In a LETTER to the MARQUIS of — :
T H E F O U R T H E D I T I O N .



L O N D O N :

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RPJCB

TO THE

Marquis of ———

MY LORD,

I Received the Honour of your Letter of the — Instant; and tho' I return you this public Answer, you have no Reason to be alarmed. Those Parts of it which are of a private Nature, you may be assured shall continue so, tho' rather from the Sense of what I owe to myself, than of Obligation to one, who can so little esteem me, as to propose to me the exchanging my Friends for an Employment. But as the *Reasons* on which I declined taking any Part in, or giving any Support to the *New Administration* are of a public Kind; and as at this interesting Period, I wish to communicate the Motives of my Actions to as many as it may concern to be informed of them, I have determined to circulate them thro' the Channel of the Press. If you take the Trouble of reading them, they may perhaps contribute to
soften

soften or to justify the Refusal, which my Honour and my best Judgment obliged me to return.

As soon as I had resolved to make my Sentiments public, it was necessary to throw them rather into the Form of a Tract, than of a Letter, as the unavoidable Repetition of Titles, and the other Formalities of the Epistolary Style, are inconsistent with that Freedom of Discussion which so interesting a political Subject seemed to require.

I have the Honour to be,

My Lord, &c.

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A N

HONEST MAN'S REASONS, &c.

IF I could have prevailed on myself to have deserted that System which I have so heartily approved, and those Friends with whom I have so uniformly acted for these two Years, it must have been from Motives, not of Ambition or Interest, but from the Prospect of promoting still more effectually the Public Benefit. I cannot, however, indulge this pleasing Hope from the Arrangements which are now taking Place.

The Measures of the Gentlemen concerned in them, are not yet sufficiently public to warrant an Examination of them; I must ground therefore my Judgment on that Plan which they themselves have laid for the Basis of their political Merit: They cannot

cannot accuse me of undervaluing their Pretensions if I accept in the fullest Extent even the Promises which their recruiting Serjeant makes at the Drum-Head, to persuade Men to enlist.

The New Ministers are proclaimed the Deliverers of their Country. *The Influence of the Favourite is to be entirely removed, and his Friends to be proscribed.* I have promised to accept this Proclamation without Restrictions. I will not therefore enquire whether the Favourite whom they pretend to abjure, is not the great Magician, who gives even the Appearance of Solidity to this Phantom of an Administration; whether they did not receive from his Hand the deputed Wands of which they are so vain; whether they do not owe their Introduction to his restless Ambition; and whether he did not *therefore* introduce them because he thinks them unable to acquire that ground of public Confidence, which, incapable of procuring himself, his Envy and Intrigue will never suffer any public Man to enjoy? I will not therefore enquire whether this is
a Merit

a Merit peculiar to these Gentlemen. I have ever been persuaded that the late Minister acted without Concert or Dependence on the Earl of *Bute*, and that upon that Condition he accepted the Treasury; the Public too must now be persuaded of it, and convinced that he is removed only because he disdained to hold his Employment by any other Tenure than that of public Service; and because he had the Spirit to insist upon the taking down that *Scotch* Banner which had hitherto been so triumphantly flying over so great Part of the united Kingdoms: But be it as they pretend, and suppose them to be attempting in earnest the Destruction of the *Scotch* Favourite's Power and Followers; what is to be the Gain to the Public? Is this any Thing more than a Squabble about Places, or is a *Scotch* Favourite the only one to be feared? The very List of Appointments proves only that the Favourites of others are to succeed to the vacant Places: But if neither Abilities nor Experience are the Recommendations, for my own Part I feel less Indignation at being governed by the Favourite of the Prince, than by the Dependants.

pendants on any Subject: Still less Reason surely has the Public to rejoice; still less have I to give any Assistance, if, what I am convinced of, shall appear to be the Truth, that we are now to be under the Dominion of double Favouritism, and that the Creatures of the Dukes of ——— and ——— are to share the Graces of the Crown, with those for whom Lord *Bute* has gratefully stipulated a Protection. As I mean not to be personal, I shall not enter into any Examination of the Characters of the New Ministry, of whom, having never mixed in those Diversions to which they have given the greater Part of their Time, it is impossible for me to speak knowingly.—Sensible themselves that the Bottom of their Abilities or Experience is too narrow to bear them, they seek for Shelter under other Names than their own, and having received the Nominations of every Officer from a Duke, who himself stands the least forward, hope to owe their Success to the Patronage of Men who are known to be most adverse. With this View they are daily promising to their Adherents the Approbation and Support of
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some who have absolutely refused, and of others who have not consented to an Union with their Party.

Those who hold the two highest Stations in the Law, have *most falsely* been cited, as giving Sanction to a Change, which in fact they have most publickly and sincerely regretted. The Marquis, the Favourite of the Army and of the People, and another noble Lord closely united to him in Affection and in Office, have, with equal Injustice, been held forth as Friends to a System of which they have declared their Disapprobation. But these young Gentlemen, *who have never appeared on any Stage before*, in order to conciliate to themselves the good Opinion of the Public, have been industrious to inform us, that they undertake the Representation of this Political Drama at the particular Desire of the *popular Statesman*. They have circulated, with uncommon Affluity, and asserted with great Authority, that Mr. *Pitt* heartily approved of the new System, that he would give to it himself, and solicit for it from his Friends a cordial Support. As I have no Commerce with

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that

that Gentleman, I can only judge of the Part which he will take, from what I think his Temper, his Opinions, and his Character would lead him to. The Plan was not even formed when they pretended to have received his Approbation. The leading Voice in the House of Commons, that from which every Friend of Government is to take it's Tone, was not even named, when it was asserted, that this Gentleman had engaged to eccho its Sentiments. I trust that I have a due Sense of the Consequence of those indefatigable Gentlemen, who have acted the Greyhounds upon this Occasion; but I own I cannot yet persuade myself, that Mr. *Pitt* has made *them* the Depositaries of his political Purposes, or entrusted them with the Power of setting his Seals to a Treaty of Administration as yet unfinished. To speak of it as far as is known I should form a Recollection of some former Transactions, be disposed to doubt whether he would be induced to approve and to embark in any Expedition, where General *Conway* was the Second in Command. Did he really approve the System, to which for the Sake of procuring more
numer-

numerous Subscriptions, they have prefixed his Name in such Capital Letters, I am persuaded he would have taken some official Department; that he would have nominated Men, to whose Interests he was attached, and on whose Principles and Plans he could have depended; and that being secure of answering his own Purposes, by accepting the Fords of Government, he would not have suffered them to have dropped into the Hands of a Ministry composed of the Extravagancies of Youth, and of the Infirmities of Age. I know that another very respectable Name is held out as the Shield of *Ajax*, under which these military Statesmen are to march to Conquest: It were to be wished, that those to whom the Circulation of these Reports is committed, had been forbidden to sport with Names so near the Throne, and particularly that a Restraint had been put on that insolent Publication in which it was declared, That *this noble Personage was recalled to a Second Life, by the Distresses of his Nephew*: It were to be wished, because to those who know that the real Distresses of the C— must arise from an Opposition to

the Government ; and who recollect that the most steady and obstinate Opposition has been made to it for some Time past, by all the Friends of this Personage ; that Expression may seem to imply, that during his former Life, he had either slept regardless of the Royal Miseries, or been only awakened to increase them. Who is the mighty *Hermes*, who, at proper Seasons, *dat adimitque Somnos*, it is unnecessary to enquire. I only ask whether it is expedient for me to engage in an Administration, formed under his Auspices. Whether his Moderation and Temper are such as dispose him to consult, in his Nominations, the Public Service, rather than the Partialities of a Private Affection ? Whether those who compose his Circle are eminent for any Qualities but that of blind Obedience, fitted indeed thereby for the Discipline of a Camp, not for the free Councils of a Cabinet, or the Independence of a Senate ? The single Purpose of putting forward a Name which must always be treated with Respect, can only be that of uniting *Men* : The Uncertainty and Variety of Measures which have been pursued under it, leave little Room to
hope

hope for a Stability of System, even were his Life to be as long as our Regards would make us wish it. In whatever Light, therefore, I look at this Administration, whether on the hollow Ground, on which they have chosen to put themselves, the exchanging, or rather accumulating Favoritism, which they pretend to abolish; or on the Motley and discordant Ages and Characters, which compose it; or on those whom either falsely or fruitlessly they claim as their Protectors, I am confirmed in my Resolution of refusing to give it either Countenance or Support: But were either their Abilities or Purposes laudable, which I think they are not, they would not I am persuaded be long in a Situation to exert them. The Office which was laid in *my* Way must, to have stopped me in my Course, have had the appearance of Permanency as well as Honour. And when I say, that under this Administration, none can be permanent, I ought to give you my Reasons for the Assertion. They are these:

In the first Place, their Support will either fail, or betray them. To explain this
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it is necessary to state the two Branches of the Alternative; either the Earl of *Bute* privately engages to support this Administration with his Influence; or he takes no Part in it: And I state this as the Question on which their Success must depend, as separate from, and more essential to, their Continuance than that of their Parliamentary Strength, because it is the Grounds on which *they themselves* principally rely. It is equally impossible for them to expect an adequate support from a Minority which was reduced last Winter so low as Thirty-six. And however forcible the Power of the Crown may seem pressing upon the Necessities or Vanity of Individuals, and how much soever the Veterans of this Corps may pique themselves on their Adroitness and former Success in applying to these Necessities, I do not estimate the Honesty of the Times so low as to imagine that even the very Dependants of Government will at once abruptly, and without Hesitation, contradict and repeal every Measure with which they have, for these two last Years, concurred. But were the Expectations of the New Ministry ever so well grounded,
were

were they even secure of a Parliamentary Support, the Dismission of that Minister on whose Fall they rise, is a Proof that the most extensive Confidence, both within Doors and without, acquired and supported by Rectitude of Measures and Ability of Administration, is no Security against a secret but more powerful Influence. Admit then that the Promises of the Favourite, either of Support or Neutrality, are as explicit as they wish them, the Result must be their Ruin. He may have consented for a while, that his Friends should be neglected; he may even have consented that his Retreat may be covered, and the new Ministers may acquire a Power (of which he will afterwards dispose) that they should dismiss those to whom a Continuance in Office is most indifferent. I will not now observe upon the Dishonesty or Pusillanimity of disowning that Support to which they must, in reality, be indebted for their Continuance. It will in some Measure, indeed, carry its Punishment along with it, by detaching that Class of Men who, not versed in Court Secrets, will be apt to take him at their Word, and who

will

will oppose them from the Idea of their utter Inability to execute what they profess. But supposing them in earnest on the Subject of Power, no man is less disinterested than the Earl of *Bute*. The Day will come when he will require a Return for these temporary Sacrifices, when he will demand Appointments and Honours for all his Friends and Followers. What then will be their Fate? Destitute of Public Confidence, of Solid Abilities, of Official Experience, they will totter to their Fall, under the Weight of that Burden of Public Odium, which every Man must bear who undertakes to support him; from which even Mr. *Pitt*, strengthen'd as he was by Popularity is said to have shrunk, and to which Lord *Temple*, with equal Spirit, Wisdom, and Honesty, refused to stoop: And this Political Death most certainly awaits them, whatever be the Event of their Conduct. If their Plans of Administration are successful, the Favourite's Envy, which in the present Moment has incited him to remove a Minister, whose Abilities he esteems and fears, will prompt him without Hesitation to send back the Instruments

ments of his present Purposes, to their late Inconsequence and Opposition. This appears to be his reigning Passion, for to no other Motive can be attributed the Sacrificing an Administration, which he knew was pursuing the Public Good, but to the Malignity of that Mind, which having itself neither Ability or Judgment enough to direct the *Structure* of the political Edifice can find Pleasure only in it's Destruction.—If on the other Hand, their Administration should meet with any unprosperous Event, they have had a recent Instance with what Joy he would see them the Victims of a Mob, which his Friends have been accused of encouraging.—In short, if they succeed, they must expect to be treated as Mr. *Grenville* is; if they fail, tho' they will then have a longer Period of Probation, they may share the Fate the D. of *Bedford* had to dread.

Take now the other Branch of the Alternative ; if the Enmity, which the New Ministry professes towards Lord *Bute* is sincere, they will be repaid in kind, and their Ruin then is at the Distance of a few

few Months only ; for it is not probable that the Man who has repeatedly broken his Word of Neutrality with those to whom he had been so considerably indebted should keep it to those who declare open War with him. They cannot themselves be blind to this, but must expect that he who removed a well-grounded and successful Minister to revenge the Dismissal of his Brother, will not sit tamely by and see the Rest of his Friends proscribed by a Set of Men, who have neither Popularity nor Abilities to delay their Destruction. I know the Answer with which his Creatures have even forestalled these Objections ; they publicly declare that he had no Concern in the late Removal : This Art is not new even in the Courts of this Country. Our great Dramatic Poet, who so well knew how to describe the low Artifices as well as the nobler Emotions of the human Mind, has painted it as one of the most common of the political Disguises, tho' he has thrown it into the Character of a Woman, with whose timid Nature he thought it most consistent. It is thus *Gloucester* describes the Queen of *Edward IV.*

in Words which one would think addressed
to one of the New Ministry. *Richard III.*
Act first, Scene three :

GLOUCESTER.

She may do more, Sir, than denying that,
She may help you to many fair Preferments,
And then deny her aiding Hand therein,
And lay those Honours on your high Desert.

However confident this Assertion of theirs
I cannot give my Assent to this Theorem;
which is contradicted by every political
Phænomenon. The Substitution of the
Duke which is brought to confirm, itself
destroys it, for it is self-evident that he
must have been introduced to receive that
Power which he has since been so eagerly
employing. To illustrate this, it is only ne-
cessary to observe, that it is capable of mathe-
matical Demonstration, that if B moves K,
K moves C, and C removes G. B is as
much the Remover of G as if he did not
act by the Intervention of K and C. That
therefore, after having misreported and
misrepresented a Minister; after having
alienated the Mind of his —, and cor-
rupted that Confidence which is so neces-
sary to the immediate Servant of the —,

that after having administered the Poison, he has retired to a safe Distance to watch its Effects, may entitle him to the Right of conveying a Falsehood in the Words of Truth ; but it does not dispose me to act upon his Declarations, it only excites me to add Contempt of his Timidity to my Disapprobation of his Influence. In fact, what can be more dastardly on itself, what more cruel to his Patron, what more insulting to the Public than to endeavour to conceal under that Name which is too respectable to be even mentioned, the dictates of his own Enmity and Ambition. Setting, therefore, all mention of that Name aside, I have no doubt, but that under the ostensible Appearance of disclaiming him, the Favourite has stipulated a secret Article with the New Ministers, for the Preservation of his Power, tho' I think he has let too much of it appear in the Continuance of the three Court Lords, and some of those Commoners who are most in his Confidence. For myself, however this may be, I cannot stoop for a Moment to lend any Assistance to such Duplicity and ill Intention.—It is most
grating

grating to me, even to see those high Offices, to which I had ever connected the Ideas of Ability and Respect, debased by being offered to any Acceptant. The ill Consequence to the Public from this Fluctuation of Affairs must be great, and whatever Administration shall be now established, will severely feel the pernicious Effects of the late total Dissolution of all Government. The Public will feel too the sad Results of that Rapacity for Office and Emolument, which having been steadily withstood and repressed for two Years, is now by this Change awakened and increased. It is most mortifying to me to see a Ministry formed by that military Hand, which having neither Temper nor Knowledge enough of our Constitution to direct it, is willing to give the Reins to any Man, whose Ambition or Necessities may prompt him to lay hold of them. I am not surprized that such a Set of Men has been found; that they were not sooner collected together is rather Matter of Wonder. I think a better Band might have been chosen without committing so much to the Dignity of the —: But tho' the Reasons given by the Noble

Noble Duke for his Coalition, that two Hundred of his Followers were starving, may be an Apology for the Step he has taken, yet they will not persuade me to give my Support; still less will I engage to forward the Designs of that Favourite,

Who with his very Bulk

Takes up the Rays of the beneficial Sun,
And keeps them from the Earth;

of that profound Statesman who betrays his Friends upon Principle, and contrives political Confusion upon System, the utmost of whose Policy reaches only to the promoting, by low Arts, Dissentions in every private Family, who flatters himself that he shall be for ever master of the Fates and Fortunes of the First Nobility, and who will deprive the greatest and best of them of every Degree of Influence which his Apprehensions represent to him as an Object of his Jealousy, and who still dares to think that the Peace and Happiness of three Kingdoms were given him to sport with. On the contrary, I will pursue this Man, who has sacrificed the Honour of the Crown, the Interests of the Public, and the Reputation

tation of *Great Britain*, both at Home and Abroad, with a warm and honest Indignation.—It cannot be long before those who think, will have an Opportunity of acting with me in Contempt both of his Promises and Power, and in Vindication of those Measures which we have approved and supported. Securely as he may, during the Recess of Parliament, make and unmake Ministers, he may find at its Meeting, that no Subject is beyond its Reach. A cordial Union of the Well-intentioned and Well-informed Representatives of the Kingdom, will burst this Cobweb Administration, behind which he is concealed, and leave him exposed to Public Justice and Contempt. To this Union all honest men are invited: Let them but for a few Months withstand the Importunities and corrupt Arts of those who would ensnare them, they will find their Interest united with their Fidelity; and will have the most solid Satisfaction which an *English* Mind is capable of feeling, that of having contributed to the Safety of our Country.

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